WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The Suffragist

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SEPTEMBER 12, 1914

FIVE CENTS

Call to the Women Voters:

"Stand by Your Disfranchised Sisters!"

Vol. II SEPTEMBER 12, 1914. No. 37

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Notes of the Week

Situation in Congress

CONGRESS has been occupied during the week principally with the conference report on the Interstate Trade Commission bill and the Rivers and Harbors Appropriation bill. Great difficulty has been experienced in maintaining a quorum and several times an adjournment has been taken for lack of a quorum. On one recent roll call twenty-seven out of forty-eight New York members were absent, eight members were absent from Massachusetts, and the entire Maine delegation was absent. The suffrage measure has not been considered.

Women are frequently wont to pardon their representatives at Washington for neglecting to push the suffrage amendment on the ground that their time is completely absorbed with other legislative matters of general importance. No such excuse can be made for Congressmen at present, however, since they apparently consider the measures before them of too little consequence even to require their presence in Washington.

National Election Plans

THIS week is historic in the suffrage world because of the initiation for the first time of a national election campaign on behalf of the federal suffrage amendment. The Congressional Union plans to go into the Congressoinal and Senatorial elections in all of the nine suffrage states and there appeal to the women voters to withhold their support from the national Democratic Party until that party ceases blocking the passage of the suffrage amendment. This plan was formally decided upon at the meeting of the Executive Committee and Advisory Council of the Union at Newport the last of August, but was not publicly announced until all details were complete for putting it into operation. A group of campaigners will leave Washington on Monday, September 14th, for the West to begin a personal appeal to the women voters to stand by the disfranchised women in the coming Congressional election.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has also put forth an election plan which is different from that of the Congressional Union but not in any way in conflict with it. It names nine Senators and nine Representatives in Congress "whose opposition to woman suffrage is so powerful as to constitute the greatest obstacle to federal legislation that the women have to face," and appeals to all suffrage organizations to concentrate their influence on defeating for re-election the men named. Those on the "blacklist" are: Senators Brandegee of Connecticut, Clarke of Arkansas, Dillingham of Vermont, Fletcher of Florida, Gore of Oklahoma, Root of New York, Shively of Indiana, Smith of Maryland, and Lodge of Massachusetts; and Representatives Underwood of Alabama, Mann of Illinois, Fitzgerald of New York, Page of North Carolina, Callaway of Texas, Garner of Texas, Garrett of Tennessee, Hay of Virginia, and Sisson of Mississippi.

This election appeal is signed by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the Association, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of its Congressional Committee, and by the other members of its Congressional Committee. Each state is left to carry out the campaign or not as it considers best. The only state association which, up to the present, has taken action on the proposal is that of Illinois, which has decided by a vote of eight to three not to undertake a campaign against Representative Mann, the only person on the "blacklist" from that particular state.

The Campaign States

SUFFRAGISTS in the seven states where the suffrage question will be voted upon this November are planning a particularly vigorous campaign during the two months remaining before election. Speakers of national reputation will hold meetings in the principal centers of each state. Miss Margaret Foley of Boston, and Mrs. Laura Gregg Cannon of California, began work this week in Nevada. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is speaking this week in South Dakota, and will visit the other states. Miss Jane Addams has arranged to give the first two weeks in October and will hold two or three meetings in each state. Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, and Mrs. Robert LaFollette, of Wisconsin, have just returned from an extended speaking tour through Ohio and report that the prospects for success in that state seem very bright.

Women and War

THE committee of two hundred women in charge of the recent Peace Parade in New York City, has instituted plans for a permanent organization to oppose war. The organization proposes to appeal to enfranchised women throughout the world to pledge themselves to use their political influence against war, and a similar appeal will be made to all women organized to secure the ballot in the United States and abroad. The co-operation of other groups of women will also be asked.

Suffrage Movement Abroad

SUFFRAGE work in European countries has been almost entirely suspended and the various suffrage organizations are concentrating upon alleviating the distress, particularly among women and children, in their respective countries.

An International Woman's Relief Committee has been formed by the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and on the committee are representatives of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance; the World's Young Women's Christian Association; the Francis Josef Society; the Friends of Foreigners in Distress; the American Women Residents' Relief Committee; the British-German Friendship Society; the International Board of the Lyceum Club; English Goethe Society, and the Frauen Verein für Innere Mission.

This International Committee is endeavoring to help women of all nations and has already assisted a number of German and Austrian women stranded and often almost penniless in London, to return to their respective countries.

Great Britain

THE various Suffrage organizations in Great Britain have turned their attention to opening work-rooms for unemployed women, labor exchanges for voluntary workers, and the establishing of free milk depots for mothers and children.

The Women's Social and Political Union has not resumed the publication of its paper "The Suffragette," nor any of its militant and other activities. The other societies, however, are continuing to issue their papers and to conduct occasional meetings.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who has been in exile in France during the past two years, has returned to England to assist in the patriotic work which is being organized at this national crisis. No effort has been made to arrest her since her return.

Holland

ALTHOUGH Holland is not at war, it is completely mobilized and upon the women has fallen a large amount of the work done by men. Upon the outbreak of the war, the Woman Suffrage Association suspended the collection of signatures to suffrage petitions and its other political work and the whole organization has been turned into receiving volunteer workers and ascertaining for what special service each one is fitted. They are also seeing that the food supplies are as satisfactory as possible.

Switzerland

THE National Alliance of Women's Societies has issued an appeal to the women of Switzerland, in view of the mobilization of the whole army, to undertake the duties commonly discharged by men, and has recommended the setting up of a central bureau in each town which shall get into touch with the local authorities and aim at reorganizing labor and furnishing information.

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CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

Mass Meeting at Atlantic City

THE culminating event of the summer campaign at Atlantic City took the form of a mass meeting on Sunday evening, September 6th. Senator Clapp of Minnesota made the principal speech. Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, National Press Chairman for the Union, who had been conducting the campaign during August, presided. Mrs. Anna Lowenburg of Philadelphia, Miss Anna McCue, and Miss Elizabeth Smith made short speeches preceding the very stirring address by Senator Clapp.

The audience packed the auditorium and several hundred people stood during the entire meeting, applauding vigorously. A collection was taken for the fall campaign.

By far the most unique method of advertising ever seen on the far-famed boardwalk was the Greek pageant which took place on Saturday, and was used to announce the Sunday meeting. Ten young women took the parts of the ten enfranchised states. Dressed in classic robes of spotless white, and carrying silver shields on their right arms, bearing the names of the states, they made an unforgetable picture as they rolled along under a cloudless blue sky, flying the beautiful purple, white and gold colors of the Union. They acted as ushers on Sunday evening, as well. Those who took the parts were Miss Erma Kirkman of North Carolina, Miss Minnie Abbott of Atlantic City, Miss Deborah Steelman of Pleasantville, N. J., Minerva Baltasaitis of Pittsburg, Pa., Mrs. W. R. Kearns of New York City, Miss Marguerite Cordtmeyer of Woodside, L. I., Miss Elizabeth Smith of Washington, D. C., Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs of Chicago, Ill., and Miss Anna McCue of Philadelphia.

The mass meeting made the thirty-ninth formal indoor meeting held in Atlantic City during August, under the auspices of the Congressional Union. Tourists from every state in the Union attended these meetings. Many joined the Union and became subscribers to the Suffragist. All of these new and enthusiastic members will carry back to their home towns a new message of hope and rally another circle of supporters to the Federal amendment.

The booth proved the most attractive spot in the Exposition Building. It was literally choked with eager women after the daily meetings, who desired to learn more about the work of the Union and its efforts for the passage of the Federal suffrage measure. Throngs of people paused at the booth to buy literature and to discuss the great question of votes for women.

The campaign was replete with interesting events and must surely result in an abundant harvest.

In the Northwest

Mrs. Gertrude S. Hunter of Minneapolis has just reached Los Angeles after a trip through the northwestern part of the country, during which she aroused a great deal of interest in the Federal amendment work. She writes of a meeting at Bakersfield, California:

"Work here in the Summer time is under tremendous difficulties, for you realize it is on the edge of the Mojave Desert and the thermometer reaches 120 degrees in the shade. I had a little meeting of all the club presidents and spoke of the amendment and the work of the Congressional Union. All those present took the names of the Rules Committee and will have letters written to them."

Nevada

MISS MABEL VERNON, who is assisting the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, writes from Reno, Nevada:

Miss Anne Martin, the state president, and I have now completed a tour of the entire northern part of the state, travelling about 3,000 miles to reach every mining camp and farming district of the northern counties. After this extensive tour we are able to declare with emphasis and assurance that the miners and ranchers are almost unanimously in favor of woman suffrage. The work has been in large degree personal (a house to house canvass where houses are oftentimes twenty or thirty miles apart), so there has been opportunity to judge the true sentiment of the people. When a vote has been taken at the meetings held, there has always been a chorus of "Ayes" for suffrage and rarely a dissenting "Nay" and the one who is bold enough to object generally gets the laugh from the crowd. The women on the farms are showing particular interest in the question. At Vya in Long Valley a society had been formed in the school house by the women of the valley the Sunday before we arrived. Mrs. Albert Kimble and Miss Inez Luce were active in gathering the women together.

In the town of Gerlach, after an open-air meeting, the women showed their interest by forming an organization immediately, where they stood on the postoffice steps. Mrs. H. L. Norton was elected president.

At Sheepshead one of the best meetings of the northern trip was held. About twenty-five people gathered, coming from twenty and thirty miles away and getting up at four o'clock in the morning to be on hand for the speaking at ten. It would seem that such a meeting indicated genuine interest in woman suffrage.

We feel that the country districts will undoubtedly give a big majority for the suffrage amendment.

Mabel Vernon,
Congressional Union Organizer.

The Congressional Union at the National Star Spangled Banner Celebration

NO section in the great procession which passed through the streets of Baltimore on Monday, September 7th, at the opening of the National Star Spangled Banner Celebration, attracted more attention than the Suffrage delegation. The occasion was a national one and drew thousands of visitors to Baltimore from all parts of the country. Suffragists were quick to take advantage of the opportunity of bringing their movement concretely to the attention of the visiting hosts. The suffrage section was organized by the Just Government League of Maryland and among the interesting features of the section were the ten beautiful golden chariots representing the ten suffrage states. Each chariot was drawn by two horses and was driven by a Suffragist in white Grecian costume.

A delegation of Washington members of the Congressional Union marched in the procession. Every member of the delegation wore the Congressional Union regalia and carried the purple, gold and white pennant. Exclamations of admiration arose as the colors shone in the sun. Miss Virginia Arnold carried the Congressional Union Banner at the head of the delegation.

The "Baltimore Sun," commenting on the celebration, said:

"As the suffrage procession passed by the opinion expressed unanimously was that it was one of the most interesting and representative demonstrations of the kind ever shown in Baltimore and repeated applause issued from the reviewing stands as the women marched by."

Among those in the Washington delegation were Dr. Cora Smith King, treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters and a member of the Advisory Council of the Union; Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, president of the Chevy Chase Suffrage Club; Mrs. Kate Boekh, Mrs. Mary Correll, Miss Charlotte Johnston, Miss Edythe Hanzsche and Miss Alice Paul.

Section of Suffrage Pageant on Boardwalk at Atlantic City

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:
In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:
In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:
In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:
In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

THE ELECTION POLICY

FOR the first time in this country, suffragists are planning to enter a national election campaign. For the first time we are strong enough to warrant such action. It was the winning of full suffrage in Kansas, Arizona and Oregon in 1912 and the winning of Presidential suffrage in Illinois in 1913 that made the agitation a matter of national moment. Suffrage has sufficient strength today to carry the Federal amendment in the present Congress, if that strength is focussed upon Congress. The vast suffrage sentiment in the unenfranchised states added to the suffrage votes in the enfranchised states make an irresistible force to which any political party must bow if that force is but gathered up and concentrated upon the national government. We must see to it that this force is not dissipated—is not weakened by being directed toward many objects. We must realize the importance of concentration of effort, of pouring money and energy into the channel where it will count the most. If the whole country will concentrate on the 531 men in Congress we will get results. There is no question but that the time for national action has come.

Granted that suffrage has entered the national field;—then the time has come to enter the national election campaigns. Next there arises the question, what shall be our election policy?

The policy of the Congressional Union is based on the fact that the Party in power at Washington—at this moment the Democratic Party—is responsible for the fate of the suffrage amendment just as it is considered responsible for action on the tariff, the currency, or the trust question. It is based on the fact that our government is a government by party—that the personal opinion of the individual counts for little when in opposition to the party position. It recognizes that it will not avail simply to return to Congress "men who believe in Woman Suffrage." Thirty-four men who believed in Woman Suffrage have sat in the House as representatives of the equal suffrage states since April, 1913, and have not been permitted to cast a vote on suffrage. Why? Because the Democratic leaders in the House smothered the suffrage amendment in committee.

The record of the Democratic Party on suffrage throughout the 63rd Congress, has been, as is well known, one of evasion and opposition. Seven times the President, the leader of the Party, has refused his powerful aid. In the Senate the measure was blocked by the Democratic leaders who brought it to a vote at a time when we knew, and they knew, it would be defeated. Moreover, its defeat was due to the failure of the Democratic Party to give the Party support to the bill. In the House the Rules Committee has consistently blocked the amendment—both by preventing the creation of a suffrage committee and by preventing consideration of the amendment in the House. And the Rules Committee is the mouthpiece of the Democratic leaders. In the words of its acting chairman, "It has in its keeping the policy of the Democratic Party." The Democratic caucus, in addition, has taken definite action against our movement. Not only did it refuse to sanction the creation of a suffrage committee, but declared that the question of suffrage was not even a matter for national consideration!

That the dominant Party is responsible for the action on suffrage cannot be disputed. And that this Party's action has been that of continued unfriendliness, also admits of no question.

We must, therefore, in the coming election convince the dominant Party and all other parties that opposition to suffrage is inexpedient. And this they will believe if they see such opposition costing them votes.

We come, then, to the final question. To what voting constituency can we appeal for support? What constituency will show by its vote that it disapproves of the Democratic suffrage record? This brings us inevitably to the woman's vote in the West. There lies our strength.

We have hardly begun to realize the power of this vote. We talk of the Irish vote, the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, the labor vote, the German vote, and attribute to each an immense power. But far greater is the power to affect national legislation possessed by the woman's vote. This is a great latent power to which we have never appealed. Now, for the first time, we ask women to stand by women to end this sixty years of struggle.

The ballot is a tool which its possessor should use for the highest purpose, and the greatest purpose to which the women of the West can put their ballot is to use it to promote suffrage the country over. All other issues—the tariff, currency, trust legislation, Panama tolls,—sink into insignificance beside it. No woman can make higher use of her vote than to cast it for the extension of suffrage over the whole country. And there is no question that the women's vote can accomplish this end. If political leaders find that their party wins or loses at election time according to its position on the suffrage question, the fight will be won.

We appeal therefore to the women voters of the nine free states—to those women who have won freedom for themselves, and may now win it for the whole nation—to cast their vote on this one issue. Once well done, it will never have to be done again.

We ask them, in the name of our common womanhood, to lend their hand, more powerful than ours, to the great task of enfranchising all the women of America. For the sake of the women of the future, for the health and well-being of the nation, we ask them to rebuke the party which has opposed the enfranchisement of women. We ask them to withhold their support from the Democratic candidates for Congress.

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THE NEWPORT CONFERENCE

Procee dings on the Second Day

THE second day's business session of the conference was devoted primarily to the consideration of the election policy to be pursued by the Union in the coming congressional campaign. After a persuasive talk by Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict on the help which each member of the Union can render in the Federal Amendment work, the discussion of election plans was entered upon. As a preliminary to this discussion, Miss Lucy Burns, vice-chairman of the Union, outlined the record of the National Democratic Party on the suffrage question. Miss Burns showed that the National Suffrage amendment had been persistently blocked by the Democratic Party, which was, as she pointed out, in complete possession of the National Government, controlling the presidential chair and the Senate, and having an overwhelming majority in the House. She analyzed the working of Congress, showing that our Government is a government by party, that no measure of importance had been passed during the present Congress without the backing of the party in power, and that no measure could go through the present Congress if opposed by that party. She called attention to the answer given to the seven suffrage deputations to the President and then showed that in addition to the refusal on the part of the President to extend any help, the measure had encountered the opposition of the Democratic leaders in Congress. It was pointed out that the Democratic members of the Rules Committee of the House, who form a majority on the committee, had met and decided by a vote of four to three to oppose the creation of a suffrage committee in the House and then in a full meeting of the Rules Committee had stood together and, by their votes and absences, prevented the creation of the Suffrage Committee, although a majority of the members, as individuals, were for that measure. Reference was also made to the fact that after the suffrage amendment had been reported out of the Judiciary Committee and taken its place on the calendar of the House, it had been impossible to secure time for a vote to be taken owing to the continued refusal of the Rules Committee to allot time for the consideration of the measure. Attention was also called to the fact that the suffrage resolution was lost in the Senate through the failure of the Democratic party to take up the measure and put the party machinery back of it.

The Democratic record during the present Congress was shown to be one continuous course of opposition to the suffrage amendment.

The Election Program

Miss Alice Paul then outlined the proposed election program, after having asked the press to withdraw and requested the members of the conference not to reveal the proposed plan until the middle of September, when the Union would be ready to put it into practical operation.

"From the very beginning of our work in Washington," she said,"we have followed one consistent policy from which we have not departed a single moment. We began our work with the coming in of the present Congress and immediately went to the Party which was in control of the situation and asked it to act. We determined to get the amendment through the 63d Congress or to make it very clear who had kept it from going through. Now, as has been shown, the Democrats have been in control of all branches of the Government and they are therefore responsible for the non-passage of our measure.

"The point is, first, who is our enemy and then how shall that enemy be attacked.

"We are all, I think, agreed that it is the Democratic Party which is responsible for the blocking of the suffrage amendment. Again and again, that Party has gone on record through the action of its leaders, its caucus, and its committee so that an impregnable case has been built up against it. We now lay before you a plan to meet the present situation.

"We propose going into the nine suffrage states and appealing to the women to use their votes to secure the franchise for the women of the rest of the country. All of these years we have worked primarily in the states. Now the time has come, we believe, when we can really go into national politics and use the nearly four million votes that we have to win the vote for the rest of us. Now that we have four million women voters, we need no longer continue to make our appeal simply to men. The struggle in England has gotten down to a physical fight. Here our fight is simply a political one. The question is whether we are good enough politicians to take four million votes and organize them and use them so as to win the vote for the women who are still disfranchised.

"We want to attempt to organize the women's vote. Our plan is to go out to these nine states and there appeal to all the women voters to withdraw their support from the Democrats nationally until the Democratic Party nationally ceases to block suffrage. We would issue an appeal signed by influential women of the east addressed to the women voters as a whole asking them to use their vote this one time in the national election against the Democratic Party throughout the whole nine states. Every one of those states with one exception is a doubtful state. Going back over a period of fourteen years each state, except Utah, has supported first one party and then another. Here are nine states which politicians are thinking about and in these nine states we have this great power. If we ask those women in the nine suffrage states as a group to withhold their support from this party as a group which is opposing us, it will mean that votes will be turned. Suppose the Party saw votes falling away all over the country because of their action on the Trust question —they would change their attitude on trust legislation. If they see them falling away because of their attitude on suffrage they will change their attitude on suffrage. When we have once affected the result in a national election, no party will trifle with suffrage any longer.

"We, of course, are a little body to undertake this—but we have to begin. We have not very much money; there are not many of us to go out against the great Democratic Party. Perhaps this time we won't be able to do so very much, though I know we can do a great deal, but if the Party leaders see that some votes have been turned they will know that we have at last realized this power that we possess and they will know that by 1916 we will have it organized. The mere announcement of the fact that suffragists of the east have gone out to the west with this appeal will be enough to make every man in Congress sit up and take notice.

"This last week one Congressman from a suffrage state came to us and asked us if we would write just one letter to say what he had done in Congress to help us. He said that one letter might determine the election in his district. This week the man who is running for the Senatorial election in another suffrage state came to us and asked us to go out and help him in his state—asked us simply to announce that he had been our friend. Now if our help is valued to this extent, our opposition will be feared in like degree.

"Our plan is this: To send at least two women to each of those nine states. We would put one woman at the center who would attend to the organizing, the publicity, and the distribution of literature. We would have literature printed showing what the Democratic Party has done with regard to suffrage in the 63d Congress. We would have leaflets printed from the eastern women appealing to the western women for help, and we would have leaflets issued showing how much the enfranchised woman herself needs the federal suffrage amendment because most important matters are becoming national in their organization and can only be dealt with by national legislation. We could reach every home in every one of those nine states with our literature, without very great expense. One good woman at the center could make this message, this appeal, from eastern women, known to the whole state. The other worker would attend to the speaking and in six weeks could easily cover all the large towns of the state.

"This is the plan that we are considering, and that we are hoping to put through. We would be very much interested to hear what you think about it and want of course to have your co-operation in carrying it through."

The Discussion

Mrs. John Rogers, a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, and a member of the Executive Board of the Woman's Political Union of New York, then spoke. "This seems to me," said Mrs. Rogers, "a very straight, clear, strong policy by which we have everything to gain and nothing to lose. To those women who say, 'suppose we do not make the Western women rise up and use their power the way we want them to,' I have only to say that many of them will. They are beginning to feel that it is not enough for them alone to be enfranchised; for their own sake they need the co-operation of enfranchised women all over the country. If we are not successful in some states, still it is our plain duty to convince these women that nothing that they could possibly do for their country's welfare could count as much as helping to enfranchise the rest of the women of the United States. In other words, we must appeal to them on the basis of the relative importance of things, and I believe that they will answer to that call. We in New York are facing a referendum in 1915. We do not feel for a moment that the Congressional Union's fight against the Democratic Party will harm us there. We will gain by it. It seems to me a plain and strong policy which I hope very much will be put right through."

Miss Paul then introduced Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, president of the Women's Political Union of New York. She announced that Mrs. Blatch had that morning joined the Advisory Council of the Union, an honor which the members of the Union doubly appreciated because of the fact that a month ago Mrs. Blatch had declined to join the Council.

"The reason I have so recently joined the Advisory Council," Mrs. Blatch began, "is because of something I read in the newspapers this morning. I am one of those who is very fearful of every man or woman suddenly saying, 'Let us

be political,' because nine-tenths of the people of the world, men as well as women, have not a political hair in their heads. Now, since I am a person who has a few political hairs in my head, mingled with the gray, and since I profoundly recognize, and with gratitude, that some of the young women have political hairs in their heads, I have today joined the Council. I am thrown into the position where I must take sides, unfortunately. The reason I would not join the Advisory Council was because, as I was centered upon the work in New York State, I saw no reason for taking this side or that side in national affairs, but, alas, now I must; because two policies are presented to me and as an intelligent human being I have to decide on which side I am. And in this position I find myself absolutely standing with the national policy as stated by Miss Paul.

"Yesterday those of you who were at the luncheon may perhaps remember that I referred to one fact in political history—that different classes of men in seeking enfranchisement had always had classes of enfranchised men helping them, but that we women had been singularly lonely in having marched on ever since 1848 without the slightest help from the inside. But at last, as I said yesterday, there is a great band of women voters in the West who can extend their hand to us and help us. My heart as well as my head responds to this suggestion of Miss Paul to go out to those women of the West, reminding them in those nine suffrage states where they can help us, that now at last the opportunity has come and that they can be like the enfranchised men who reached out their hand to men who were struggling for their political freedom—that they can reach out their hand to disfranchised women.

"This proposed election plan means that we ask the Western women to stand against any party or administration that is against us. It simply happens today that the party that has the power in the center of things is Democratic and so we ask them to discipline those men now in power and if tomorrow there comes in another party, then that party shall be disciplined if it does not fall gracefully under the yoke, which I think it will, because, as Miss Paul stated, to nothing are politicians, and statesmen even, more sensitive than to just how a voter is going to vote. So I believe thoroughly in this campaign that the Congressional Union has laid down. I regret that I personally have been forced right into the position of taking part in national affairs, but there seems to have come a parting of the ways, and I feel it my duty not only privately to make up my mind but publicly to state it."

Mrs. Kelley Speaks

Mrs. Blatch was followed by Mrs. Florence Kelley, also a member of the Advisory Council of the Union and known the country over as the General Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

"I am quite sure," said Mrs. Kelley, "that what Mrs. Blatch and Mrs. Rogers has said expresses the feeling that will animate the members of the Women's Political Union, but I have to confess that up to noon yesterday I did not understand the proposal. I think there has been a great deal of intentional misunderstanding abroad throughout the country, because garbled statements of the Union's policy have been given out, I do not know by whom. But I had certainly derived the opinion that there was to be a campaign indiscriminately, state, local, and national, against the Democratic Party and I had some fear that there might be a good many cases in which the Democrats may really be the friends of suffrage locally and such a campaign seemed ill judged and disproportionate. I cut off a week from my vacation to come down from Maine for the express purpose of having the Conference make some statement that we are not going to make such a campaign, but after the statement of the policy which has been made this afternoon and which I have been hearing in detail, yesterday and today, I see that the apprehensions which I had been cherishing were unfounded. I do not see how there could possibly be a more statesmanlike proposal than this which has been made this afternoon."

Point of View of a Democrat

Mrs. Bayard Hilles of Delaware, another member of the Advisory Council of the Union, was then introduced. Mrs. Hilles' remarks were listened to with great interest, as she is a member of an old Democratic family and the daughter of a member of President Cleveland's Cabinet. She said:

"Miss Burns has shown you who are the responsible ones for the failure of suffrage in this country, and Miss Paul has given a program of action. She has told us that we must go to the Western states and we must go to attack the Democratic Party. This question is more important than party—it is a national question—it is a suffrage question first. And until we get suffrage as a national matter, we had better leave off being Republicans or Democrats either. We must have the weapon of politics in our hands before we can choose what kind it must be. It is no easy matter for me as a Democrat to want to defeat Democrats, but I say to you that, though traditionally a Democrat with a long line of male relatives who have served their country in the Democratic Party, I would willingly go out to those states and devote my time to defeating every Democrat if it were going to bring women the right to vote. I hope very much that those of you who had any doubt in your minds when you came here this afternoon about the Congressional Union's policy will now see that it is a very plain, straightforward matter. There is no underhand dealing—we are telling what we mean to do to those men with their own weapon. That is the way that politics goes. Without political action we will gain nothing at all and therefore I beg you, as a Democrat, if there are other Democrats here, to put party behind the great national matter of suffrage and to stand for that until we have it an accomplished fact before us."

Effect on the Campaign States

The effect of this national policy upon state work was then taken up by Mrs. Porritt, press chairman of the Connecticut Suffrage Association, who said: "I do not think that this policy will hurt a single state. Just think how many states there are which are extremely backward. And even if there were the possibility of hurting a little bit in the states that have campaigns in 1915 or 1916, ought not there be a little unselfish feeling for the women all over the United State We in Connecticut cannot be enfranchised i 1915 by state action; we can be enfranchised i 1915 by national action. Why, for the sake c your particular state for 1915 which will onl give your own women the vote, will you stan in the way of a policy which might give all wc men the vote as soon as you could possibly ge it by your state action? You say 'wait a little or you 'are afraid just now.' That simply mean that there can be no national action. If there i to be national action, if we are to get anythin nationally, there is only one policy and tha policy is to get the party for us instead of tryin to get individuals. You might get a two-third majority in each house individually, and lose en tirely, because you would not get a majority o the caucus. We can do nothing nationally ex cept through party because our government is government by party. We may like it, we ma not like it, the fact remains."

The question of the effect of the propose election policy upon state work was further dis cussed by Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, wh was one of the leaders in the Wisconsin cam paign in which the suffrage amendment was de feated at the referendum to the people afte having passed the legislature.

"I want to speak," she said, "as a person wh was very badly defeated in a hard-fought cam paign. We can only say what we think the effec of this policy will be on the 'campaign states. My judgment is that the states that are going t win next fall out there in the West are the state in which the liquor interest is not strong enough to fight the truly liberal spirit of the voters. do not believe that the result in those states tha have a chance for success—in those states where the liquor interest is not big enough to defea us—will be influenced by the fact that other wo men in suffrage states are making a great appea on a high plane to women voters to stand by them and to administer a rebuke to the Democratic Party in a national way. I had a long hard experience in just such a campaign as is being conducted out there, and I give you that as my judgment.

"I also want to say that this meeting here today has seemed to me a little like an old-fashioned prayer meeting. One by one we have risen and announced our conversion. It is a conversion through information, through complete understanding, and I want to say that, though I am a member of the Executive Committee, I have not been in close touch with the committee for some little time and my complete understanding antedated Mrs. Kelley's about twenty-four hours, but it has led me to an absolut ly firm stand for this policy.

"In addition to what has been so splendidly stated this afternoon I want to say something to those who think that it would be better to defeat anti-suffrage Democrats. I came here with such an idea as that—that we ought to choose weak, unpopular, anti-suffrage Democrats and defeat them. The final clinching argument that we should not fight individual Democrats is this: If we are going to select individual Democrats who have gone on record against us we can't appeal to the women voters, because Democrats from suffrage states do not go on record against woman suffrage. If we go out with this one great idea to those suffrage states we are on a higher plane than that on which any political campaign has ever been carried on."

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Mrs. Blatch was then appealed to as the presi-
nt of a "campaign state" for her opinion upon
e effect of the Union's policy upon such a state.
'Although technically New York state is not
campaign state, it is in reality," said Mrs.
atch, "because our legislature has promised—
parties have promised—to put our bill right
rough to the voters. We in New York state
e faced with two national policies. This policy
at has been proposed by the Congressional
nion to call upon the women in the suffrage
ates to chastise the party in power at Wash-
gton and another policy to chastise individual
ti-suffragist Congressmen. And lo and be-
old, under that proposal it is planned by the
ational Association to strike at Congressman
tzgerald in Brooklyn. Now that would hurt
. The Congressional Union proposes nothing
the sort; it proposes to strike at the national
dministration in far distant states, not in our
mpaign states at all. So that I feel that as
ere are two policies presented to us, one call-
g upon the suffrage women in the far West for
sistance, and the other policy calling upon the
en of the East to defeat a man right in our
mpaign state in New York, I am for the West-
n policy.

"There is another point I want to make with
l the force I can here today, and that is,—give
that idea, when you are entering upon the
olitical aspect of our question, that it makes
y difference what a man's personal views are
to suffrage. Whether he is for or against, he
n only give you one vote. But as a cog in a
g political wheel he is extremely important.
nd we want to work in Congress just exactly as
e work in the New York legislature. We do
t care one bit whether you are for suffrage or
ainst it. We want you in the legislature to put
is question out to the voters. We want you
Congress to put this question out to the state
gislatures. We are not asking those men
hether they personally believe in suffrage or
t. But as part of the administration it is enor-
ously important to have them act so as to put
e question out to the state legislatures."

Brief speeches endorsing the election policy
ere made by Mrs. William Prendergast of the
dvisory Council, Miss Elsie Hill, formerly
esident of the College Suffrage League of the
strict of Columbia, and Mrs. Thomas N. Hep-
rn, president of the Connecticut State Woman
ffrage Association.

The Collection

FOLLOWING the enthusiastic endorsement of the election program, the appeal of Mrs. Donald R. Hooker for funds met with an rnest and joyous response. Pledges followed e another so rapidly that a halt had to be lled repeatedly in order to enable them to be ken down. Mrs. John Jay White, a member of e Advisory Council, Mrs. J. J. Brown of Colo-do, and Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont each of-ed to pay the expenses of one organizer dur-g the election campaign. Other members of e conference offered to go out to the suffrage ates themselves and pay their own expenses. gift of five thousand dollars was made by rs. Belmont, who contributed so much in every y toward the brilliant success of the confer-ce. Contributions of large and small amounts ntinued to pour in until the pledging had to be pped to make way for the tea which Mrs. Bel-nt gave in honor of the members of the Con-ence.

Such a collection coming spontaneously from ch a small group is probably without parallel the suffrage movement in this country. "I ve never heard of anything like it before in ffrage circles," wrote one leading Suffragist ho attended the Conference; "it would have en large for one of our national conventions."

The Social Side of the Conference

ONE of the unforgettable memories of the Newport conference was the delightful gathering at the tea given by Mrs. Belmont on the terrace at Marble House looking out over the ocean. The guests wandered in small groups over the green turf to the ocean's edge and sat in the wonderful Chinese tea house on the cliff overhanging the ocean, until it was time to hurry away to prepare for the garden party in the evening.

Another enjoyable social feature of the conference was the reception on Saturday night in the Casino parlors, overlooking the tennis courts where so many famous matches have been played. Bishop Darlington, Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, Mrs. Charles S. Whitman, wife of the District Attorney of New York, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, and Mrs. Marsden J. Perry received the guests.

At the close of the evening the violins stopped playing and chairs were drawn together for a few pithy and inspiring speeches before the company parted. Bishop Darlington, as chairman, introduced the speakers. Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict spoke of the great vigor of the suffrage movement today backed as it was by the power of the women voters. Mrs. Florence Kelley spoke of the enormous difficulty suffragists encountered in appealing for enfranchisement to the ignorant vote of men electors and of the practical character of national political work. Mrs. Alice Duer Miller made a pithy and penetrating little speech on the psychology of the anti-suffragist.

The homes of many of the Newport members were opened to the conference and dinners were given in honor of the visiting guests. A dinner for the members of the Executive Committee of the Union was given on Saturday evening at Marble House by Mrs. Belmont. Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Blatch were guests in addition to the members of the committee.

Luncheon at Channing Parlors

The conference was preceded by a delightful luncheon at which all the women attending the conference assembled for the first time. The whole conference started off in a spirit of buoyant optimism and the determination to get down to the actual business of the political struggle in order to close the suffrage movement in America within the next few years.

The speaking was presided over by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, of New York, and the speakers included Mrs. Annie Porritt of Connecticut, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, Mrs. William Prendergast of Brooklyn, Mrs. Wilfred Lewis of Philadelphia, Miss Eliza Hardy Lord of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Agnes Jenks of New Hampshire. Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott, President of the Newport County League, welcomed the conference to Newport.

"Isn't this an inspiration," said Mrs. Porritt in the opening speech at the luncheon. "It seems to me that one of the best things that the Congressional Union has done during its not very long existence is the bringing of things practical to a point. We have been working so long with the idea that woman suffrage was going to come at some very distant time and now we have been given the new idea that woman suffrage is something that we are going to get immediately. And that is the chief value of the Congressional Union. It has found a practical political means of getting suffrage politically; a means which before may have been thought of theoretically, but which was never thought of as a practical possibility, and it has broken up forever and ever the ice of inertia, the lack of practical working power that seemed to have encrusted the whole of the suffrage movement. We are going ahead tremendously quickly—we are going to get votes for women very quickly, and I believe that for about nine-tenths of the states, we are going to get it through congressional enactment."

This faith in the federal method of work—this belief in its hopefulness, permeated all of the speeches, ending with that of Mrs. Charles Bell of California, whose interest in the Conference was of particular significance as a token of the support which the voting women will give in the coming stages of the suffrage struggle.

Comments of the Press

The Suffrage Campaign

IT is becoming apparent to leaders of the suffrage cause that if action is not taken within the next two weeks on the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the franchise to women the prospects for any action along this line in Congress during the present session will be greatly diminished and perhaps might as well be abandoned. For this reason, it appears, September 15 was fixed by the recent conference at Newport, R. I., of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage as the limit of the opportunity granted the majority party in the national Legislature to display its friendliness to the measure. It was announced at this conference, at least, that unless Democrats in Congress acted favorably on the suffrage amendment before the date named the Council would oppose their re-election. However, it is stated that in any event the details of the suffrage plan of campaign will be withheld from the public until September 19.

It may be taken for granted that members of Congress who have placed obstacles in the way of submission, and members who may be found opposing the amendment up to the launching of the suffrage campaign will be vigorously opposed. As a political organization the right of the Suffragists to use every possible legitimate means to bring about the defeat of their opponents will hardly be denied.

Whatever side one's sympathy may take in this contest, it will only be fair to grant women such rights as are never denied men in carrying on a political campaign. It is manifestly the right of men in politics, as it must be conceded, we think, to be the right of women, to oppose their foes and support their friends.—**Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 3.**

Entrance of Suffragists into Practical Politics

THE Newport Conference was remarkable in many ways, but in three especially. It was remarkable because, at a time everybody is in a panic about money and nobody is giving anything to anybody, $10,000 was raised with little effort in a brief time.

It was epoch making, in that it established beyond cavil the fact that women can keep a secret. Not one woman, but one hundred women, held the secret of the bolt to be launched at the Democratic party this fall.

The third and most striking feature of the conference was that it marked the entrance of women into the arena of practical politics. It is true that women in various states are in politics in the sense that they vote and hold office. But at Newport, for the first time, was launched a national movement of women armed to fight with political weapons for their rights, as men fight in the political arena, by striking at the ambitions of those who want office.—**New York Tribune, Sept. 6th.**

Treasurer's Report

Among other donations which have just been received is one from Miss Lavinia L. Dock, secretary of the International Council of Nurses, who is a member of the Advisory Council of the Union, but was not present at the Conference. Miss Dock writes to express approval of the plans outlined at the Conference and to send a contribution to help put them through. "You know I love everything you do," she writes, "and I think this proposal is simply glorious."

We ask all other members to send some donation, however small, toward carrying through the election work.

Contributions Toward $50,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Amendment

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

LIST O ` CONTRIBUTIONS FROM AUGUST 29 . TO SEPTEMBER 4th, 1914.

Mrs. Olive H. Hasbrouck	$2.00
Capt. Dallam	1.00
Mr. William Swan	1.00
Mrs. John Rogers	5.00
Mr. P. J. Bagot	1.00
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Miss Elizabeth Harris	1.00
Mrs. Joseph S. Stevens	60.00
Mrs. Barton Jenks	51.00
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles (collected)	25.00
Miss Virginia Bester	1.00
Mrs. Hannah S. Luscomb	100.00
Mrs. George Day	20.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	2,000.00
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd	30.00
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Mrs. Edgerton Winthrop	15.00
Mrs. H. H. Burrell	5.00
Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder	5.00
Mrs. E. D. Draper	5.00
Mr. J. T. Lowery	1.00
Collections	123.40
Membership Fees	8.50
Sale of Tickets	55.00
Total	$2,762.90
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	$40,280.67
Total to September 4th, 1914	$43,043.57

1,000 New Subscribers

THE Newport Conference resulted in a large number of new subscriptions to the Suffragist and in an inspiring determination on the part of many members to work with renewed vigor for an increased circulation of the paper. The general feeling was voiced by Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, in her speech at the Conference. "One great way," she said, "in which we can all get out and help the work for the Federal amendment is to increase the circulation of the Suffragist. I feel that the Suffragist is the life of our organization. This is a national organization. We must keep in touch with the center of the Union in Washington and this can only be done through this weekly organ. The paper was started only in November, so that its growth up to date is all that could be hoped for. But it seems to me that we ought to have in a very short time five thousand paid-up subscribers. That means that we would have at least five thousands women who understand what the political situation is from week to week. I feel that a subscription to the Suffragist means more than a twenty-five dollar gift without a subscription to the Suffragist. I believe that if you were to send in five new subscribers once a month, you could almost forget the necessity of raising money, because every time we get five new subscribers it means five new friends—which means that we have a great big constituency to call on for money and to call on for help in influencing Congress at any critical moment. To me the Suffragist is the organization, because we have no elaborate system of federation. We all belong to the one Union and the organ which holds us together is our very life."

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers

August 29 to September 4.

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

Mrs. E. F. Andrews	2
Mrs. C. M. Gallup	3
Mrs. Gilson Gardner	1
Miss Carrie Harrison	1
Mrs. Hotchkiss	1
Miss Anna McCue	2
Miss Marcia Potter	1
Mrs. F. M. Shepard	1
Miss Elizabeth Smith	1
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs	1
Miss Doris Stevens	4
Mrs. John Jay White	1
Miss Margaret Whittemore	2
	21
Previously acknowledged in 'The Suffragist"	192
Total to September 4	213

The Advisory Council

THE Advisory Council of the Congressional Union has been strengthened during the past week by the addition of Mrs. Mary Hutcheson Page, chairman of the Executive Board of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association and a member of the Executive Board of the Massachusetts State Suffrage Association. Mrs. Page writes: "I was very much interested in the conference at Newport and I think your plan of an appeal to the four million women voters to stand together at this one election for women and above party, is a splendid one."

Mrs. Page's endorsement is of particular interest, as prior to the Newport conference she had been doubtful as to the wisdom of the Union's policy and had, on that ground, declined to become a member of its Advisory Council.

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